

THE DAILY NEWS.

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WHAT RADICALISM DID HERE.

Through the scenes referred to in preceding sketches of Radical rule in North Carolina, the attitude of the Radical Administration was most extraordinary. When lawlessness was directed against the white race; when property was destroyed; when life was sacrificed; when helpless women were the victims of brutal violence, it remained unmoved. No effort was made, so far as we know or have heard, to stimulate the magistrates and officers of the law to the execution of their duties. It surveyed these proceedings with an indifference unaccountable on any ordinary principles of human action. When, however, a righteous judgment was visited upon the authors of these atrocities, it was deemed that an extraordinary interposition of Executive power was demanded. We come to this part of our record with extreme reluctance. It is necessary to recall horrible scenes in which two men, one living and the other dead, were chief factors, of neither of whom is it agreeable to us to speak a word of even seeming unkindness. The living man is retired from all connection with public affairs, and in his declining years leads not only a blameless life, but goes about doing good to his fellows, comforting the sick and distressed, striving to guide into the good paths that lead to the better land those who walk outside now as he and all other men have walked in some part of their lives. For sixteen years there was never a word, nor a passing salutation even, exchanged between this writer and Gov. WILLIAM W. HOLDEN, but we are glad to-day to know that he is our friend and we his friend, that either would call upon the other for kindness in word or in deed with the certainty of receiving what was sought by the one if within the other's power to give. Of the other, who is dead—he was our kinsman, and near to us by ties stronger even than blood, which were broken only by that accursed war forced on the people of the South by Radical fanaticism, Radical lust of power, and Radical greed of gain. The record of the public conduct of these two men, the living ex-Governor and the dead Chief-Judge, in those days of terror is not, therefore, a pleasant one for us to think of or to speak of. Certainly, if we would knowingly do injustice to any living man, or to the memory of one dead, it would not be to either of these two. Absent from the State when the things occurred of which we come now to speak, much has been learned from men who personally knew those evil times, and much of what is here said is nearly in the language of men whose feelings towards Gov. HOLDEN and Chief-Judge PEARSON are in great degree as our feelings.

From the beginning of the Radical Administration it was recognized that the government set up here was established against the will of the people. It was fully recognized, too, that a government not resting upon the will of the people is, according to our system, a despotism. It was supposed in such a condition of things that the ordinary machinery of government could not be relied upon. It was deemed necessary, therefore, to have recourse to those expedients by which despotism had always been maintained—a force of spies and informers, and a military force subject to the Executive will. The former of these had been quickly brought into use. Early after the meeting of the first Radical Legislature, under the specious title of an "act to prescribe the power and duty of the Governor in respect to fugitives from justice," the employment of spies, called a detective force, was authorized. They were to operate within the State, though for the purpose of disguising its true intent, the clause "or without the State" was added. They were in all things to be subject to the order and direction of the Governor, to report to him and to be paid by him. The Governor was authorized to issue his warrant on the Treasury for sufficient sum—no limit was set—to carry out the purposes of the act. The regular officers of the law were thus superseded. They were, in fact, useless for the purpose in view; they had to make returns to Court of all that they did. What the Radical methods of government demanded was a secret force; accountable to one man; obedient to one will. The act was general in its terms, and was intended to admit of wide latitude in its interpretation. By the term "fugitives from justice," as was seen in the sequel, was meant all good citizens who did not approve and applaud the acts of the Radical administration in this State. The footsteps of those who condemned Radical policy and Radical ways, were dogged by these despicable creatures wherever they went, and at all times. One of the objects of the force was to inspire terror and silence criticism and complaint. Among the less-informed and more simple-minded of our citizens this object was attained. This class had seen our government overthrown, our laws set at naught, our magistrates and officers of the law stripped of their authority: they now saw a body of men unknown to law, apparently above the law, certainly acknowledging responsibility to no civil tribunal. No one, in the then state

of affairs, could pronounce the apprehension unnatural. It was not unnatural that, when civil order rested apparently on no solid foundation, they should suppose that their personal liberty might be at the mercy of these miscreants. The spies themselves seemed to glory in their infamy, and were flattered at the dread which their presence inspired. These spies, and the undefined power which they represented told fatally upon the Convention question in 1871. It was one of the worst woes of Radicalism, that obeying the necessities of its policy and his position, the Chief Magistrate of a State with a Republican form of government was driven to seek information of public affairs by listening to the "leperous distilment" which greed, hate and malice poured into his ear against our best citizens.

The whole army of spies were let loose from their leashes to discover who the mysterious defenders of the white race were. It was resolved to adopt other and more powerful measures. In response to the recommendation of the Governor, an act was passed vesting him with power to declare any county in a state of insurrection, and to call into service the militia of the State. In pursuance of the authority given by this act, the counties of Alamance and Caswell were declared to be in a state of insurrection. Why these counties were made the subjects of such extreme rigor, is not, perhaps never will be known. The ostensible cause, two homicides—one in each county—was manifestly a mere pretext. Arsons, murders, rapes innumerable, had been committed against white people during this administration, and nothing had been done to quicken the course of law. Now when two men had been killed, the law was to be superseded, and military trials substituted. It was not because the law was powerless; the solicitor in that District testified that its course was unobstructed. Whatever the cause was, the Governor proceeded to levy a force—not the militia, as the act authorized—and embody it under a semblance of military organization. It was a question of the greatest moment, who should command it. To determine the question, a meeting of the leaders of the Radical party was held at the Executive office on the 7th and 8th of June, 1870. It was deemed of such importance that one of our Senators in Congress attended from Washington. The Senator urged for the command one who possessed, as he said, peculiar qualifications. He portrayed him as a man of desperate and lawless character, dead to every feeling of conscience and pity—who would execute without inquiry every order, however sanguinary. He had, according to the Senator, another recommendation; he would dispose of prisoners when arrested without the cumbersome formality of a court-martial—as the Senator compensatedly expressed it, "When he arrested prisoners he would lose them." By what device of secret assassination this would be accomplished, the Senator did not say. But the hero in question labored under one disadvantage; he was a native of the State. It was thought best, in view of the work to be done, to select one who was an alien to our State and a stranger to our people. There was a tract of country between the States of North Carolina and Tennessee over which, while the civil war was going on, neither the government of the United States nor that of the Confederacy extended. This tract was infested by a band of brigands who, during the war, preyed upon both sides, but who towards the end of the war and after the war were loud in their professions of Unionism. Among this set one KIRK was noted above all his fellows for the sanguinity of his conduct and his bloodthirsty nature. This man finally united all suffrages. It was agreed that when deeds of shame and blood were to be done, KIRK stood without a rival. Such was the man who, with the approval of the whole Radical party, was put in command of an illegal military force to operate against our own people.

It being the object here to point out the spirit of Radicalism as exhibited in the conduct of its leaders, in its political tenets, in its mode of procedure, no detail will be given of the proceedings of these "State troops" in those counties. Nor is it necessary. They are turned into the recollections of this generation and will live while memory lasts. It is known how they poured into those counties in riotous disorder, subjecting the people to insult and injury at every step: How they arrested, without alleging any charge against them, men whose gray hairs, whose blameless lives, whose high standing in their respective churches, would in the eyes of every one in the wide world, except those then in control of our government, have shielded them from even a passing thought of anything wrong: How, after arrest, these venerable men, and other excellent citizens arrested with them, were huddled together in one apartment for weeks—denied the comforts and society of home, and exposed to the ribald jests, the ruffianly usage of these vile outlaws: How men were hanged by the neck and tortured in other ways to extort confessions of what they knew not what; for there was no accusation against them: How orders were issued to organize courts-martial to take away, in the most summary manner the lives of these estimable citizens upon the fabricated testimony of a cohort of spies—a class of beings whose business it

is to manufacture lies, for lies constitute their daily subsistence; and whose depraved natures lead them to invent lies the most monstrous, and against men the most blameless: How, finally, a stop was put to scenes unparalleled in any country pretending to constitutional government, by the interposition of Judge BROOKS, of the District Court of the United States—an interposition which established that upright magistrate in the respect and affections of all loyal sons of North Carolina and will cause his name to be remembered with gratitude while the State has an existence. When the prisoners were brought before Judge BROOKS, the State offered no testimony against any one of them. These free citizens—men held in high esteem by all who knew them; many of them in especial honor on account of their character and religious principles—were arrested, imprisoned, subjected to brutalities unpardonable had they been convicted felons; and yet when the prisoners were brought before the Judge, the damning confession was made that all these things were done without a tittle of evidence against them. Such an outrage upon every principle of civil and personal liberty cannot be produced in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon race within the last two centuries. When the record of that time shall be written, impartial history will impale before the eyes of the world the actors, aiders and abettors in those disgraceful scenes, the necessities of Radical policy at Washington; nor will the tide of indignation which will swell the breast of the historian be checked in its flow, when he remembers the fate of two of those blameless citizens—the most venerable for character, who, overwhelmed by the ignominy and brutalities to which they had been exposed, never recovered from the shock, but sunk by a slow and hopeless decline into their graves. He will drop the tribute of a tear to worth so unblemished, subjected to persecution so remorseless; but he will be impelled to trace in deeper colors the outrages by which they were done to death.

The attitude of the Judiciary of North Carolina—the peculiar guardian of personal liberty—while these things were in progress, claims attention. When the citizens of Caswell were arrested application was made to many of the State Judges for the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*. This writ is the glory of English and American law—the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is the only effectual security for personal liberty that has ever been devised. "It points out," says BLACKSTONE, "effectual means as well to release a person from imprisonment, as to punish those who unconsciously misuse him." The free enjoyment of the benefit of this writ, or the denial of it, constitutes the truest measure of personal liberty in every age. If it be freely granted to all who seek it, in this is to be found indubitable proof of the highest stage of human freedom. If it be denied upon any pretext, it marks an age when liberty is dead. Liberty without guarantees is but a name. This inestimable boon of humanity in its present complete form date from the 31st of CHARLES II, more than 200 years ago. But long before, in the reign of CHARLES I, it constituted a strong safeguard about the liberty of the subject, though assailed by royalty itself. It was provided by a statute of that reign—16 CHARLES I, "that if any person be restrained of his liberty * * * by the King's majesty in person * * * he shall have a writ of *habeas corpus*."

Had this writ been applied for in that reign—a reign when the pretensions of the prerogative were carried to their highest pitch—no Judge in the kingdom would have refused it, though the prisoner were detained by order of the King. Yet Radical Judges here again and again refused this writ in behalf of citizens restrained of their liberty by order of a Governor—the Governor and Judges all exercising their functions under Democratic institutions and in the name of the people. While Radical Government existed in North Carolina, the citizen, under Democratic institutions and in the Nineteenth Century, had lost the security for personal liberty which was thrown around the subject of a monarchy in the Seventeenth Century. In all that regarded personal liberty the Radical Government had thrown us back two hundred and fifty years. In truth the relations of the Executive to the other departments of Government had been entirely changed by the Radical Constitution, and the Executive had been put in the ascendant. A Radical Legislature, acting under the same impulse of centralization—the dominant idea of Radicalism—had armed the Executive with powers that left the liberties of our people at the mercy of his will or caprice. The Radical Judges shrank back in terror from a conflict with one who was armed with such powers. Either this was true, or the Judges basely disregarded their duty and their oaths, and became the willing tools of the Governor. This latter supposition is so shocking, that for the honor of human nature it is discarded. At length, after arrest, these venerable men, and other excellent citizens arrested with them, were huddled together in one apartment for weeks—denied the comforts and society of home, and exposed to the ribald jests, the ruffianly usage of these vile outlaws: How men were hanged by the neck and tortured in other ways to extort confessions of what they knew not what; for there was no accusation against them: How orders were issued to organize courts-martial to take away, in the most summary manner the lives of these estimable citizens upon the fabricated testimony of a cohort of spies—a class of beings whose business it

is to read in the newspapers accounts of fifty-day and sixty-day fasts, never heard of publicly before now, and apparently brought out at this time so as to belittle his own performance.

NATT ATKINSON,
Pres. N. C. F. G. A.

It must be aggravating to Dr. Tanner to read in the newspapers accounts of fifty-day and sixty-day fasts, never heard of publicly before now, and apparently brought out at this time so as to belittle his own performance.

Permanent improvements have been and

Facts and Figures.

GOVERNOR JARVIS AT KENANSVILLE.

[From THE RALEIGH NEWS, Aug. 5.]

Let us come to facts that are sustained by figures. He held in his hand a statement taken from the books of the State Treasury by Dr. J. M. Worth and his well-known chief clerk, D. W. Bain, names synonymous with honesty, men whom Judge Buxton was compelled to say were honest and truthful. The statement is the same as that obtained from the Public Records by THE NEWS, and printed in THE DAILY NEWS of July 31st, and in THE WEEKLY NEWS of August 3d, as follows:

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

of expenditures for each fiscal year, ending with September 30, from 1868 to 1880, both included. The expenditures in the 1868 column are for three months only, from July 1, 1868, when the Radicals took possession under the Canby Constitution, to September 30, 1868; and including the cost of their preceding Canby "State" Convention. The figures in the 1868, 1869, 1870 columns represent the cost in taxes of 24 years of Radicalism; no account is made of the millions raised by issue of bonds. In 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, though the Executive was Radical, the taxing and spending power was Democratic. Since 1876, the entire control has been with the Democrats.

Total, \$89,374.50

Of the amount reported above on account of the Western Insane Asylum, \$75,000 were expended during Gov. Brogden's administration, and \$100,000 since. The appropriation was made by a Democratic Legislature for the benefit and proper care of an unfortunate class of the citizens of the State.

In addition to the amounts given in the foregoing statement, the Treasurer has paid within the past few years more than \$200,000 over the special tax collected for the Penitentiary. This large amount had to be paid to erect and sustain the Penitentiary, which was established by the Radicals under their Constitution of 1868, and which they left upon the hands of the Democrats. This large amount was paid by legislative authority as an absolute necessity for the construction of the State's prison already begun, and for the proper safety of the convicts, and it was paid without increase of taxation, and from the savings from the economical system adopted by the Democratic party.

Four years of Republican rule (1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872,) cost \$3,073,252.28. Four years of Democratic rule (1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880,) cost, including amounts expended in permanent improvements, \$2,146,712.03. From this amount deduct \$324,374.50, the amount expended in the permanent improvements, under Democratic rule, and it leaves \$1,822,337.53. The difference, then, in cost of the government for four years under Democratic rule and four years under Republican rule is \$1,250,914.75 in favor of Democratic rule and Democratic economy.

THE FRIENDS OF EDUCATION.

[From THE RALEIGH NEWS, Aug. 8th.]

The following facts are compiled from the official reports of the Radical State Auditor and the Democratic School Superintendent:

From July, 1868, when the Radicals came into full possession of the State Government, until the 1st of October, the beginning of the next fiscal year, there was not a dollar of the Literary Fund spent for teaching, unless \$69 paid to PILGRIM ASHLEY, then Superintendent of Public Instruction, for services of clerk, was paid by legislative authority as an absolute necessity for the construction of the State's prison already begun, and for the proper safety of the convicts, and it was paid

without increase of taxation, and from the savings from the economical system adopted by the Democratic party.

The fact that the Republican party has extracted about \$15,000,000,000 from the pockets of the people since 1861, and has only paid \$658,831,894 on the public debt of \$2,700,000,000, is a sufficient reason, aside from the debauchery and prostitution of the organization to the basest of purposes, for the people who have been robbed to hurl it from the seat of power. The exhibit of debt paying is pitiful, contemptible.

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Referring to this table you will see that the expenses stated for the year 1868 (\$324,305.51) were for only three months—July, August and September—except as to the Convention, which was previously held in the same year, and is legitimately chargeable to the Republican administration.

The expenses of the several Legislatures from the year 1868 to 1880, both inclusive, are given in detail as follows:

YEARS.

Number of Sessions.

Total Length of Session.

Rate of Miles.

Per Diem.

Total Miles.

Per Diem.

1868-'69.....3.....301.....20 cents.....\$7.....\$430,958.60

1870-'71.....2.....190.....20 cents.....5.....212,893.25

1872-'73.....1.....152.....20 cents.....5.....169,396.80

1874.....1.....100.....10 cents.....5.....169,234.40

1876.....2.....97.....10 cents.....4.....81,923.40

1879-'80.....2.....100.....10 cents.....4.....71,293.80

The Legislature of 1879 (first session) sat a little over sixty days, but received pay for only sixty days.

The Republican Legislature of 1868-'69 cost in mileage and per diem, \$4,666.55 more than the two Democratic Legislatures of 1870-'71 and 1872-'73 together.

The aggregate cost of the Republican Convention of 1868 and Legislature of 1868-'69-'70, in mileage and per diem, was \$517,621.75. The five Democratic Legislatures from 1870 to 1880, inclusive, embracing ten years, together with the Convention of 1875, cost in mileage and per diem, \$671,129.63, which is only \$153,507.88 more than the one Republican Convention and Legislature. The Republican Legislature cost in mileage and per diem, as stated, \$430,958.60. The average cost of the five Democratic Legislatures, in mileage and per diem, was \$128,928.41, or \$302,030.19 less than the one Republican Legislature.

The expenses of the fiscal year 1871, which was the first year after the Democrats got control of the Legislature, were \$64,929.26 less than the year immediately preceding.

Since the year 1870 there has been a steady decrease of the ordinary expenses of the State. The Legislatures of 1870 and 1872 reduced the salaries of the State officers and employees, and expenses of the officers, nearly \$20,000; more than one-half.

Permanent improvements have been and

are still being made by authority of the Democratic Legislatures. The increased expenses of some years over others are owing to these improvements, which were made, however, without additional taxation. In explanation of these improvements the statement of Treasurer Worth, in his report to the Legislature of 1879, is here given: "These large special expenditures are in excess of the usual appropriations provided for by special taxation, and the fact that they have been met without an increase of the revenue levies, is evidence of the rigid economy in the administration of the government in its several legislative, executive and judicial departments, as the saving of the large reduction of these expenses has admitted of more extensive aid from the Treasury to the several works now in progress under the authority of the General Assembly."

The following statement shows what has been paid on account of these improvements:

Western Insane Asylum, \$187,000.00

Colored Insane Asylum, 42,500.00

Western N. C. Railroad, 151,874.50

Cape Fear & Yad. Val. R. R., 30,000.00

Total, \$399,374.50

For other purposes Treasurers' commissions, 1,463.50

Total amount disbursed, 926,913.75

